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Role-playing is a valuable technique for working with disadvantaged people because it is congenial with the low-income person's style. Role-playing allows the practitioner to reduce the distance between himself and the disadvantaged; it permits more learning about the culture of the low-income person from the "inside"; and it is an excellent technique for developing verbal power in the educationally deprived person.

People with low income tend to work out mental problems best when they can do things physically. Role-playing appears suited to this physical, action-centered, motor style. Role-playing breaks the "office barrier" by creating a setting in which the therapist and the low-income client are on an equal footing in terms of style.

Some illuatrations of role-playing are given. One simulates the teaching of academic material to non-professional and professional personnel. Another helps to develop teacher styles for working with the deprived. Role-playing should be non-theatrical, with a very simple, direct approach. The low-income people worked with in this study preferred an informal setting, groups of no more than 10 people, and little introductory didactic material.

Role-playing and the middle class are briefly discussed. Differences in approach which would appeal to the middle class are pointed out. The middle class person may feel that role-playing is an in-group gimmick, lacking in dignity and status; therefore the various psychotheraputic functions of role-playing, such as catharsis, support, and problem objectification should be made explicit.

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HARVARD GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
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ROLE-PLAYING AND THE POOR

by

Frank Riessman
Jean Goldfarb

Mobilization For Youth, Inc.
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For General Distribution

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ROLE-PLAYING AND THE POOR*

Role-playing** techniques have long been popular with blue collar workers in labor unions and industry. Our own experience at Mobilization For Youth and various community organizations further indicates an exceptionally positive response to role-play technology by low-income people. While more systematic research is needed regarding these observations, it may be useful to present a rationale for the possible special value of this technique in work with lower socio-economic groups.

For the most part, role-playing has been widely "resisted" in social work, psychiatry, education and many allied fields in the helping professions. Our endeavor is to show that whatever its weaknesses and strengths in a variety of spheres, role-playing may have particular application for practitioners working with the economically disadvantaged ... the poor.

There appear to be at least four reasons why this technology may be valuable with the disadvantaged:

1. It is a technology that appears much more congenial with the low-income person's style: physical (action oriented, do vs. talk); down to earth,

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* The following terms are used interchangeably in this article to refer to members of lower socio-economic groups: "poor," "disadvantaged," "deprived," "educationally deprived," "low-income."

** Role-playing is the flexible acting out (doing) of various types of problems in a permissive group atmosphere, e.g., a caseworker interviewing a withdrawn client, a person being interviewed by a housing project manager in a low-income housing project. As few as two people can role-play, such as therapist and client in an office; but most role-playing is usually done in groups where two people act out a situation and the group discusses it. Since it is free of the tensions of an actual problem situation, role-playing stimulates the trying out of new alternatives and solutions in life-like situations without the consequences which in reality may be punishing. Role-playing thus increases the participant's role flexibility in an atmosphere where he can safely take a chance with different kinds of behavior.

concrete, problem directed; externally oriented rather than introspective; group centered; game-like rather than test oriented; easy, informal tempo.

2. It allows the practitioner (social worker, psychiatrist, educator) to reduce, in an honest fashion, the role distance between himself and the disadvantaged individual, who is frequently alienated from him. It also permits the practitioner to learn more about the culture of the low-income person from the "inside" (through playing the latter's role in role reversal, for example).

3. It changes the setting and tone of what often appears to the low-income person as an office-ridden, institutional, bureaucratic, impersonal, foreign world.

4. It appears to be an excellent technique for developing verbalization and verbal power in the educationally deprived person, who is said to be inarticulate. Moreover, it seems to be especially useful for the development of leadership skills.

The Style of the Poor: Do vs. Talk

Miller and Swanson,* on the basis of a number of different investigations, arrive at the conclusion that an outstanding characteristic of the low-income person's style is the emphasis on the physical, in particular, the motoric (the large muscles involved in voluntary action).

It is not simply that the poor are physical; that their labor is characterized by working with things; that their child rearing typically utilizes physical punishment; that their religious expression more often includes physical manifestations of emotion such as hand clapping; that when they become mentally ill they appear more likely to develop motoric symptoms such as conversion hysteria and catatonia (disorders involving

* Miller, Daniel and Swanson, Guy. Inner Conflict and Defense. N.Y.: Henry Holt, 1960, p. 24.

malfunctions of the voluntary muscles); that they are strongly interested in sports; that they are especially responsive to extra-verbal forms of communication such as gestures.* The significant factor from the point of view of style is that low-income people tend to work out mental problems best when they can do things physically. This is their habit or style of work, and it appears when they work on academic problems, personal problems or whatever.

Miller and Swanson go further to draw certain psychotherapeutic implications from their observations regarding the motoric style of the poor: "Our results indicate the desirability of exploring a variety of new psychoterapeutic techniques, particularly those in which words and concepts are subordinated to nonverbal and even motoric activities."**

A number of other investigators have also drawn attention to the physical bias of the poor as reflected in their expectations regarding psychotherapy, their presenting symptoms, their learning styles, etc. (See Overall and Aronson, Hollingshead and Redlich, Brill and Storrow.)***

Role-playing appears admirably suited to this physical, action centered, motoric style. The process itself requires a wholistic doing or acting out of situations, not merely talking about them. This is a mode of problem solving that low income males, and young males in particular, find attractive. They frequently have a strong dislike for "talk"; especially talk that is isolated from experience; they want "action" and

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* For a discussion of many of these items see Miller and Swanson, op. cit.

** op. cit., Miller and Swanson, p. 397

*** Overall, B. and Aronson, H. "Expectations of Psychotherapy in Patients of Lower Socio-economic Class," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 33, Nov. 3, 1963, pp. 421 - 430.

Hollingshead, A.B., and Redlich, F.C. Social Class and Mental Illness. N.Y.: John Wiley 1958, pp. 340 - 345.

Brill, N.Q. and Storrow, H. "Social Class and Psychiatric Treatment," Archives of General Psychiatry, 1963, pp. 340-344.

prefer talk that is related to action. They also like vivid (e.g., hip. slang), down-to-earth, situationally rooted talk; and this too is more likely to emerge in the role play format. Role-playing is much more lively, physical and active than the typical interview.

There are numerous other dimensions of role-playing which are congruent with various aspects of the low-income person's style:

-- Low-income transitions of cooperation are favored by role-playing. Problems are shared and "solutions" are arrived at more communally. Frequently, one low-income individual has successfully dealt with (or is capable of dealing with) problems which are overpowering to another disadvantaged person. Sometimes the experiences of people like himself are more influential (are a better model) than the therapist's aid. Role-playing promotes group feeling and understanding through its informality, easy pace and natural humor.

-- Low-income groups typically do not like the traditional test format and this limits diagnostic work with them. The requirements of their style seems to be met better by game-like atmospheres and situational measures, both of which are found more readily in role-play technology.*

-- Low-income people are generally less introspective, less introverted, and less concerned with self. They respond more to the external, to the outside, to action. They are more likely to see the causes of their problems in external forces; they project more and tend to externalize their guilt.** Kohn notes that their child rearing patterns center on conformity to external prescriptions -- "in contrast to the self-direction focus of the middle-class."*** He relates this, in part, to the fact

* Becker, Jerome et al. "Situational Testing of Social Psychological Variables In Personality," Mental Health of the Poor, by Riessman, F., Cohen J., and Pearl, A. Free Press, In Press.

** op. cit., Miller and Swanson, p. 396.

*** Kohn, Melvin L. "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," American Journal of Sociology, 1963, Vol. 68. p. 11.

that "working-class" occupations require that one follow explicit rules set down by an authority, while middle-class positions are more subject to self-direction.*

We would postulate that low-income psychology, rooted as it is in a more external (non-introspective) mold, might be appealed to more easily by a therapeutic system based on an outer-inner change nexus, rather than the inner-outer focus so characteristic of traditional casework and psychiatry.** Role-playing as a technique is probably more consistent with a model emphasizing external action (and role-taking) as an impetus to personality change as well as a stimulus for introspection. (While low-income people probably do not like to introspect in the abstract, they may be more introspective in response to external signals.)

-- While the style of the poor probably includes a strong emphasis on informality, humor and warmth, the disadvantaged also like a content that is structured, definite and specific. It is often assumed that role-playing is highly unstructured, open and free. In part, this is true, particularly in the early phase of setting the problem and mood. But in the middle and later phases (especially the role-training stage), where the effort is made to teach very specific behaviors, role-playing can be highly structured, reviewing in minute detail the various operations to be learned (such as how to run a meeting, organize a conference, talk to a housing manager). Educationally disadvantaged people appear to prefer a mood or feeling tone that is informal and easy, but a content that is more structured and task centered. Role-playing may suit both needs.

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* op. cit., Kohn, p. 11.

** We suspect this is an important reason for stressing a variety of environment oriented (community, milieu) type therapies for low-income strata.

Breaking the Office Barrier

Role-playing, apart from its likely congruence with low-income culture and style, has numerous other advantages. Perhaps most important, the technique per se begins to break through the traditional office atmosphere with its implicit role segmentation and desk supported distance, its interview method of "getting to know you" and its concomitant physical stasis. The entire office fabric rooted in face-to-face verbalization about things not present is inappropriate for the low-income person who verbalizes best in response to things he can see and do and physically relate to. Role-playing breaks the office barrier, is much more directly involving, spontaneous, and most important, is likely to provide a setting in which the therapist and the low-income client are at least on an equal footing in terms of style!

Role-Play vs. Role Distance

Many practitioners in an effort to be "one of the boys" attempt to imitate the language, clothes, manners and style of low-income youngsters with whom they work. Aside from the fact that this approach is essentially patronizing and dishonest, it often fails because it is perceived as "phony". A much better way to cope with the real problem of role distance is through a particular use of role-playing. The leader of the session, the practitioner, can very early in the role-playing process participate directly by taking a role. In other words, he can get out of the distant leadership position and participate as directly as possible in the actual role-playing by accepting a role as the client's brother, friend, boss, or the role of the client himself.

The practitioner will discover that he will be seen in the light of the role he is playing. Informality becomes legitimate in this context, e.g., the worker takes his tie off, behaves differently, changes his language. Participants understand what

he is doing, enjoy it and the constraint of the role distance is reduced. One of the great virtues of role-playing is that it allows for honest, open manipulation (and thus mitigates one of the primary difficulties of all therapy)!

A Route to Verbalization

> "In role-playing sessions we have had occasion to observe that the verbal performance of deprived children is markedly improved in the discussion period following the session. When talking about some action they have seen, deprived children are apparently able to verbalize much more fully. Typically, they do not verbalize well in response to words alone. They express themselves more readily when reacting to things they can see and do. Words as stimuli are not sufficient for them as a rule. Ask a juvenile delinquent who comes from a disadvantaged background what he dpesn't like about school or the teacher and you will get an abbreviated, inarticulate reply. But have a group of these youngsters act out a school scene in which someone plays the teacher, and you will discover a stream of verbal consciousness that is almost impossible to shut off."*

This point is nicely illustrated in the Syracuse Madison Area Project devoted to developing new methods for educating disadvantaged youngsters.**

Gerald Weinstein, Curriculum Coordinator of the Project, introduced the youngsters to a poem by Langston Hughes called "Motto", in which one of the lines is: "I play it cool." The students liked the poem very much but had difficulty at first explaining the meaning of this line.*** They decided to act out a situation to see if it would help.

> "Weinstein took the part of a teacher and a boy pretended he was walking down the hallway. 'Hey you,' said the teacher, 'you're on the wrong side of the hall. Get over where you belong.' Without looking up, the boy very calmly and slowly walked to the other side and continued without any indication of what was going on in his mind. That was playing it cool.

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* Riessman, F. The Cultuarlly Deprived Child. N.Y.: Harper, 1963. p. 77.

** See article by Kanasola, Robert, "Students Dig Jive When It's Played Cool", Syracuse Herald Journal, Nov. 11, 1963, p. 17.

*** Ibid, Kanasola.

"When Weinstein asked a boy to show what he would do when not playing it cool, a verbal battle ensued.

"The class began offering definitions for 'playing it cool': calm and collected, no strain.

"Weinstein suggested another --- nonchalant. A new word."*

Some Illustrations of Role-Playing With Low-Income Groups

Through its informality, easy pace and use of humor, role-playing can take some of the anxiety out of everyday situations that the low-income individual finds threatening. For example, if he fears an approaching job interview, role-playing the part of the employer makes the latter a less threatening person. There is a secondary gain involved in this technique for, as Moreno points out, role-playing is a little like witchery: by playing another person you "take his sting away" and gain some of their magic power for yourself.

If a low-income group is forming a tenant's council in a housing project, role-playing can give practical experience in "knocking on doors" and in learning how to present the plan to new tenants. In this way natural leaders in the community can be developed and trained. Many other types of problems can be profitably role-played: family and marital disputes, gang conflicts and conflicts with authority, youth versus parents. In a more educational light, people can be taught how to address a PTA meeting, how to be a shop steward or a labor negotiator, etc.

Role-playing has been used in work with alcoholics, drug addicts, suicidal patients, psychotics, etc. Freedom Riders have been screened through role-playing to see how they would deal with difficult situations that might arise.

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* Ibid: Kanasola

Role-playing can be especially beneficial because of the incidental learning that takes place. It is not merely intellectual learning that is accomplished, but kinesthetic, emotional and experiential learning as well. Role flexibility and spontaneity can be acquired, and new ways of behaving may be learned to be later transferred to the actual problem situation. One's potential and repertoire are increased through the exploration and testing of one's skills and possibilities.

Teaching "Academic" Material

1. To Non-Professional Personnel

One of the most important "subjects" that had to be mastered by the Mobilization For Youth Parent Education Aides (indigenous non-professionals from lower socio-economic groups) was the full program of the Agency. Rather than give a lecture about the Mobilization Program, role-playing was employed by having the Aides try to act out situations in which they would be telling families in the community about Mobilization For Youth. One Aide would act as a member of the community, while another Aide would be herself. In the group discussion that followed each role-playing incident, the group leader (who had detailed knowledge about the program) could easily and meaningfully add to the information of the group.

This proved to be a very stimulating and yet informal experience, and provided the interest for more intensive lecture-discussion presentations by representatives of the various sub-programs of Mobilization For Youth (Work, Education, Community Organization, Individual Services).

Goldberg's report on the Homemaker Program at Mobilization For Youth indicates the special value of role-play in training non-professionals:

> "One value of role-play is that it offers the chance not only to understand the client but to test the practice in a simulated worker-client relationship. We usually let each homemaker take

a crack at a situation (e.g., how you could handle a very demanding client who sent her child to give you an order after she had exhausted her own quota). Then we criticize each other or try to say why one way was better than the others.

One advantage of the role-play is that it gives the supervisors a better picture of what homemaking is like or of what actually goes on. We have discovered, for example, that it is very difficult for them to discuss budgeting with a family. In fact the homemakers, despite their antipathy for the 'welfare way', were handling budgets very much like social investigators until we caught them in role-play and began to explore ways of doing it less mechanically and dictatorially."*

2. To Professional Personnel

In a program concerned with conveying low-income culture to teachers in the Mobilization For Youth community, one of the major approaches was to have the teachers visit the homes of their pupils. This was very valuable but was limited by the fact that only two visits of about one hour each took place during the entire term. Role-playing can be utilized very effectively here by having groups of teachers meet together and act out some of the situations they have seen or participated in at the homes, thus widening the range of experience for each member of the group and the group as a whole.

The experience of each teacher can be added to that of all the others but more important, through the technique of role-reversal, the teachers can begin to know how the parents feel. Here the role-playing group leader plays a decisive role. In the discussion he can point out the meaning of much of the low-income behavior and culture that has been enacted. He can bring in considerable academic content around the situations that have been witnessed by the audience. He can raise important questions which different members of the group, because of their varying experiences in the homes, can shed light upon. The reading of the group can also be discussed and integrated around the situations that have been role-played.

* Goldberg, Gertrude, "Report on Visiting Homemakers," Mobilization For Youth, Inc. 1963, unpublished.

3. Teaching Children

Role-playing can have beneficial results in the teaching of academic material in the school. Considerable excitement is added to a lecture when a point is illustrated by the instructor with role-playing. Most likely the incident will be long remembered by the audience. And if an enquiring student should wonder what Abraham Lincoln, for example, would think of our present civil rights policy, let Lincoln and Johnson stage a debate enacted by two students! The impossibilities of time and space are eliminated, and the civics lesson will be well-remembered.

> "Role-playing can be utilized in countless ways (in school) such as acting out a history lesson (George Washington signing the Constitution), teaching arithmetic and economics by playing itself is a marvelous stimulus for discussion, and it appeals to the deprived child's love of action. It provides for a much more vivid presentation and fits in with his desire for excitement and movement ... role-playing should be a trigger for advanced discussion and thinking ..."*

Developing Teacher Styles For The Deprived

> "One of the special values of role-playing sessions is that the new teacher, or the student teacher, can discover and develop her own repertoire of skills. For example, we often suggest that a teacher in a deprived setting express herself physically and visually as much as possible: walk around the room, use gestures, touch the children, etc. But for many people this is simply not possible; it is not within the framework of their personality, and there is nothing more dangerous than attempting to manufacture a style for which you have no feeling. It will go over like a lead balloon. The teacher will feel stiff and uneasy in imitating what 'doesn't come naturally,' and the children, who are surprisingly sensitive, will know it is contrived. The role-playing sessions will soon ascertain whether the new teacher has any potential feeling for this 'physical' pattern. If the teacher does, the ensuing sessions can bring out this potential, can encourage her, and can help her to shape her future style. If she does not have this particular skill, no matter, because fortunately there are innumerable ways of being an effective teacher, and role-playing can assist in finding and integrating the best approaches for the particular teacher. Depending on what kind of personality style she has,

* op. cit., Riessman, F., pp. 32 - 33.

she will probably select different approaches and techniques from the things we have suggested. If she is a careful, meticulous person herself, she can perhaps synchronize more readily with the slow style of the disadvantaged child. If she has great patience, she may be able to appreciate the tenacious persistence that evidences itself in these children once they have become absorbed, and she may be able to bring them to this point more rapidly. If she is vivid and exciting, and much interested in the subject, she should be encouraged to impart this enthusiasm to the children. If the teacher is a physically strong man, he should convey this to the children, not by display of his prowess, but by what one counselor at Wiltwick so aptly called the 'suggestion of strength' - 'you never hit the kid, but your size and strength are always there, by the way you touch the boy, lift things, handle yourself, and so on.'

"But strength, of course, is not only established through the physical. The thin, small-voiced female teacher can be just as effective as the big baritone. Role-playing should help the new teacher to discover the manifold sources of strength and authority, and particularly her own resources in this capacity. Strength can be reflected to these children by definiteness, quiet, firm tones, consistency, standing by a statement, determination to teach, and so on. It is a tremendous mistake to think that authority and respect can only be commanded through physical power. The climax in role-playing comes when the new teacher begins to feel and act in the sessions as though the classroom were her fortress. You cannot tell people to be confident -- but you can provide the conditions, knowledge, and practice that build confidence. Role-playing is one of the best confidence builders we know of for the new teacher."*

Adaptations of Role-Playing with Low-Income Groups

As Young and Rosenberg pointed out some years ago, role-playing with low-income groups should assiduously avoid the theatrical aspects often connected with psychodrama.** Role-playing seems to be more easily accepted by disadvantaged people when there is no stage, no lighting effects, and when it is conducted very simply and directly.

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* op. cit., Riessman, F., pp. 96 - 97.

** Young, B.F. and Rosenberg, M., "Role-Playing as a Participation Technique," Journal of Social Issues. Vol. 5:1, 1945, pp. 42 - 45.

In working with homemakers and school aides drawn from low-income groups, we found that they were able and willing to participate in role-playing almost immediately, with practically no warm-up or even preparatory discussion explaining the technique.

It is best to begin with a very problem-centered approach, aiming to arouse interest in a specific problem (e.g., how to convince a tenant to join a tenant's council). It is very easy then to suggest that we "do" the problem so that we can deal with it better. The more preparation and discussion prior to role-playing, the more resistant and fearful low-income people become. Moreover, while low-income people readily accept the basic technique and role reversal, they are far less accepting of the use of doubles soliloquies and the like. The more advanced technology seems to arouse feelings of inadequacy -- "I'm not an actor", etc. It is possible to utilize these techniques but considerably more preparation is needed than with middle-class audiences. In a sense, the time saved in the warm up and initial explanatory period has to be used in applying the advanced techniques if they are to be used at all.

Low-income groups with whom we have worked like best an everyday, informal setting, a small group of no more than ten people, and little introductory didactic material, regarding the technique as such. It is also important, as Levit and Jennings" warn, to guard against the overuse of the technique, but rather to employ it intermittently, as a stimulus for discussion.

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* Levit, G. and Jennings H. "Learning Through Role-Playing," How to Use Role-Playing, Adult Education Association, 1960, p. 10.

Role-Playing and the Middle-Class

It might well be asked: "Aren't all the special functions of role-playing that have been cited equally appealing to professionals and other middle-class people?" "Don't they like to learn in an informal, game-like manner?" It seems to us that while role-playing can be a very attractive technique for middle-class people, it is, in fact, approached and resisted by these individuals in very different ways and for different reasons. Moreover, we would employ it with somewhat different ends in mind. For example, role-playing is an excellent technique for reducing intellectualization and isolation, defense mechanisms more favored by professional strata. Thus the aim in its use with these individuals might be to bring them down to earth, to unite their affect and cognition, and the entire role-play procedure might be focused in this direction. With low-income people, where over-intellectualization is not typically a problem, the aim is rather to utilize role-playing in order to develop verbalization, self consciousness and intellectual ability; hence the role-playing would be organized very differently, perhaps moving toward reducing the emotional components.

Factors related to style seem to produce certain class differences in response to the role-play technique. Many middle-class individuals, who find the technique lacking in appeal, may be reacting negatively to the very physical properties so attractive to low-income people. The middle-class group may favor a more cerebral format,

Another issue that seems relevant in middle-class groups relates to exhibitionism, which appears to be more prominent in an ambivalent fashion in these strata. There are more individuals desiring to find an outlet for their exhibitionism, and thus very willing to volunteer to play roles; other middle-class individuals are especially inhibited by the exhibitionistic potential in the situation. We find the entire exhibitionistic focus far less prevalent in disadvantaged groups.

We find, too, that psychiatrists, social workers and educators are often resistant to role-playing because they fear what they believe to be its sensationalistic charlatan-like overtones. (Similar reactions are evidenced with regard to hypnosis.) They feel it is an in-group gimmick, lacking in dignity (and status!).

In order to overcome some of these resistances we would recommend:

1. That the theatrical elements be sharply reduced;

2. That simple (different) language be further developed to refer to the role-play technology (role therapy might be a useful term for role-playing in therapeutic context);

3. That role-play techniques be combined with other familiar techniques in use in the helping professions: Rachel Levine uses role-playing in family therapy in the home;* Robertiello et al approach the combining of psychodramatic techniques with psychoanalysis.** (Role-playing is an excellent technique for providing <u>emotionally re-educative experience</u>, one of the major goals of psychodynamic therapy);***

4. That the various psychotherapeutic functions of role-playing be made explicit: catharsis, support, self awareness (mirror), problem objectification, insight (through controlled emotionally re-educative experiences), re-learning role training);

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* Levine, Rachel. <u>Treatment in the Home</u>. 1962, Unpublished.

** Robertiello, R.E., et al. <u>The Analyst's Role</u>, N.Y.: The Citadel Press, 1963.

*** Often in Milieu Therapies it is difficult to manipulate aspects of the environment to produce the emotionally re-educative stimulus; role-play technology allows for a widening of the range of possible interventions.

5. That the specific uses of role-playing be carefully elaborated and exemplified in great detail both didactically and by illustration;

6. That it be made clear that role-playing is not necessarily tied to any particular theoretic or treatment system; that although it owes a great debt to Moreno, it has been widely used without any reference to Moreno's system. (The further integration of role-playing with role theory in sociology and learning theory in psychology would undoubtedly be beneficial.)* It should be recognized that role-play technology can be combined with a great variety of treatment systems, and that it is not a therapeutic system in and of itself. Over-reliance on any technique such as role-playing, divorced from a substantive theory of behavior change, is likely to be no more fruitful than the use of the interview technique by itself;

7. That there is considerable research evidence regarding the effectiveness of role-playing in modifying emotionally held attitudes such as attitudes toward integration.** In general, though, there is great need for more systematic research on various aspects of role-playing both in terms of diagnosis (as a predictor of future performance) and in relation to behavior modification;

8. Finally, that role-playing may represent an extremely valuable approach in working with low-income populations who have been somewhat estranged from the helping professions: it may be useful as a diagnostic device, in the development of rapport, in both individual and group therapy, in the office, hospital, milieu, and home.

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* Schwebel, Milton. "Role-Playing in Counselor-Training", Personnel and Guidance Journal, December 1953, pp. 200 - 201.

** Culbertson, F.M. "Modification of an Emotionally Held Attitude Through Role-Playing" Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 54, 1957, pp. 230 - 233; Janis, I.L. and King, B.T. "The Influence of Role-Playing On Opinion Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 49, 1954, pp. 211 - 218.